2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1938) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

animals against inclement weather. Formerly it had been the practice, as was still the case in many places until very recently, to graze the herds in the open throughout the winter. The horses would first break the crust of the snow with their hoofs and eat the tops of the grass, after which the other animals could get at the remaining stalks.[26] Even at the present time[27] most cattle are pastured out during the winter. Rich men especially sent off their cattle to graze under the care of herdsmen since their large herds could not all be accommodated in or near the winter quarters.

Agriculture, except perhaps in the extreme south, where the influence of Bokhara was strong, is an even more recent innovation than the provision of fodder, and less widely practised. Only the poorest individuals who had neither animals nor other means of subsistence resorted to it.[27] The recency of the development of agriculture is apparently reflected in the question of land ownership which will be examined along with other property rights.

PROPERTY RIGHTS

Kazak social structure as manifested in property rights may be considered in relation to ownership of cattle, grazing lands, the winter habitations, and agricultural and meadow land.

Cattle were all held in the individual ownership of members of the group, usually by male heads of families. There is some indication, however, to suggest that they could be considered as belonging to the family as a whole but held in trust and utilized for their benefit by its head. Such a situation, for example, might be implied by the right of sons to demand from their father a portion of his animals on coming of age.

There is also perhaps a suggestion of former even wider communal ownership of cattle in the custom of marking all animals belonging to members of a particular uru with the same cut or brand (tamba) (usually mentioned in the literature as tamga).[28] To infer from this, however, an earlier communal ownership of cattle is extremely unsafe. Although similar tamgas for a whole uru were widely known it is very uncertain to what extent they were used to mark cattle. In recent times at least most cattle appear to have been marked with a personal individual tamga of their owner. According to my informants group tamgas were not used on animals; each man might have not only his own tamga but a different kind of mark for each kind of animal. This is confirmed by Grodekov who adds significantly[29] " . . . anyone wishing to mark his cattle may *iment* [italics mine] his own tamga but once having adopted it he may not alter it." Although everyone was in theory entitled to his

[26] See Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 413; also Pallas, *Voyages*, 1: 600.

[27] Baronov, Bukeikhan, and Rudenko, *Kazaki*, 8–9.

[27] Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 413; Zaleskie, *La Vie des steppes*, 53–54; Meyendorff, *Voyage d'Orenbourg*, 38; Wood, *The Shores of Lake Aral*, 108

[28] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 3–4, and supplement, 4–7; Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 379; Czaplicka, *Turks of Central Asia*, 41–42.

[29] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 3.

/118/ CHAPTER VIII.

Hiring out. - An object found. - Objects entrusted for safe-keeping. - Gifts. - Trade. - Debts. - The value of animals by customary law. - The transport of cargo on camels.

241 Among the agriculturalists there is a form of hiring of workers
465 on shares. Well-to-do people give the worker sustenance and seeds and lend him their livestock, land and tools during the field work. The worker receives a remuneration from the harvest, depending on circumstances, of one-fourth to one-half. If there is no harvest, there is no remuneration.

463 In addition the hiring of servants (yalchi) exists, for 1) pastur-
465 ing livestock (the shepherd is called kanchi, or specifically, koychi for sheep, dzhilkychi for a drove of horses, kelakhtachi for geldings), 2) for field labor (eginchi), 3) for domestic services (dzhigit, khyz-mekter) and 4) for official errands (yasaul) for the volost official, the bii, etc. These servants or workers are hired by the year, or, rarely, by the month or the day. The servants receive pay either in full in advance, or half in advance and the remaining half after a certain period. In case of resignation by one side, an accounting is made by days and the worker returns to the employer anything extra he has received. The presence of witnesses when the conditions are drawn up is not obligatory.

466 The master calls his servant "balam" (my son), "adamym" (my man), or kuzim" (my eye). In accordance with this last appellation, the servant is obliged to avert losses, even though these may not be related to his specialty.

Servants are held responsible for intended (kasdan) damage which they cause. They are held responsible on a general basis for stealing from the master.

For damage and losses, resulting from neglect (bigamdiktan) and lack of watchfulness (khatadan), for example, breaking things, loss of a sheep, a servant does not pay, except in cases where the condition was made that he would pay.

/119/ A master may scold and even beat a hired servant up to three blows with a whip, with impunity. With the fourth blow the master is already considered in error (aybday), and after this the servant can complain. A servant dare not scold or beat his master under fear of being sentenced to pay an atton and to beg forgiveness.

[312 cont.]
have their principal festivals at this time also. They also choose autumn to practice barantas (2), for this season is favorable because

2. See footnote 1, Chapter II, page 167, on the barantas.

of the darkness of the nights and the vigor of the horses, which have been restored in good pastures for a whole season and are all the better disposed for long-distance and rapid running.

The Kazaks rarely camp in large numbers in the same place, for their herds would be too cramped for space. But they form groups of several families, united by ties of blood or by reciprocal advantages. These groups move in a body from one place to another and do not separate unless there are important reasons. These mobile villages are called auls. The number of tents which comprise them depends on the circumstances.

Some Kazaks live in Khiva, the dominion of Bukhara, the possessions of [313] China, in Tashkent and Kokand, and in these places they have houses, lands, and gardens (1), but their number is very limited.

1. It is said that in the last years of the 18th century, Karabulat, a rich Kazak of the Durt-Kara tribe of the Little Horde, built a small fort made of clay on the shore of the Syr [Darya]. Inside he built a small mosque, also of clay, and lived near it in his tent, in the midst of a large number of his kinsmen and faithful adherents, who camped with him. This fort, which soon tumbled down, was called Kara-Bulat-Tam i.e., "Karabulat's wall." Caravans came to this place to buy provisions and paid a small toll to the lord for free passage across his pasture lands. There were also some cultivated lands near the fort.

[314 cont.]

311 On the other hand, it cannot be assumed that all the Kazaks
241 can apply themselves to agriculture, for aside from their aversion for this kind of life, they have too little arable land, as one can see in the geographic section of this work [untranslated]. In addition, even assuming that these nomads did occupy themselves with the cultivation of land, would the products they grew compensate for the reduction of the herds? All the peoples who border
[243] on the Kazak steppes need livestock, and they produce enough grain so that it is always a better bargain for them than grain which could be brought from far away. So that if neither the Russians, nor the Chinese, nor the inhabitants of Kokand, nor the Bukharans, nor the Khivans will pay the Kazaks the price of their labors as agriculturalists, what will the latter have to give them in exchange for the manufactured products which they cannot do without and which they pay for today with livestock?

[175 [315] Let us add to this picture the physical revolutions to
132 which the surface of the Kazak steppe is subject. The Dimas and
312] Bascatis [rivers] which, according to Ptolemy, watered these lands, no longer exist. The Kenderlik [River], which indicated in the Bolshoi Chertezh, is no longer there. The Kizil-Darya, so often discussed by Abulgazi Baiadur Khan and which is still seen on the old maps, has completely disappeared. The Yany-Darya, which was born, so to speak, in our day, has already ceased to flow. The Aksakal-Barby lakes have diminished greatly. The high points of Sari-Bulak and Kuk-Tirnak, which used to be washed by the Aral Sea according to old Kazaks, are now at a distance of eight hours walk away. Many tiny lakes and wells have dried up entirely. Finally, in regions which are completely deprived of water one sees huge ruins which indicate the former existence of a large population. These phenomena are nothing to a nomadic people, because they move their location all the time, but they are destructive for a sedentary people.

181 Let us now recall the prejudice which has been implanted, and
152 is unfortunately well fixed, and has spread among the Kazaks, namely that they will lose their freedom (1) the moment they leave

[636
343] 1. The Russian government has built houses for the Kazak sultans (as for Ablai and others),

5: Levchine--190 G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Plate 10

Plan of a Kirghiz-Kazak Field

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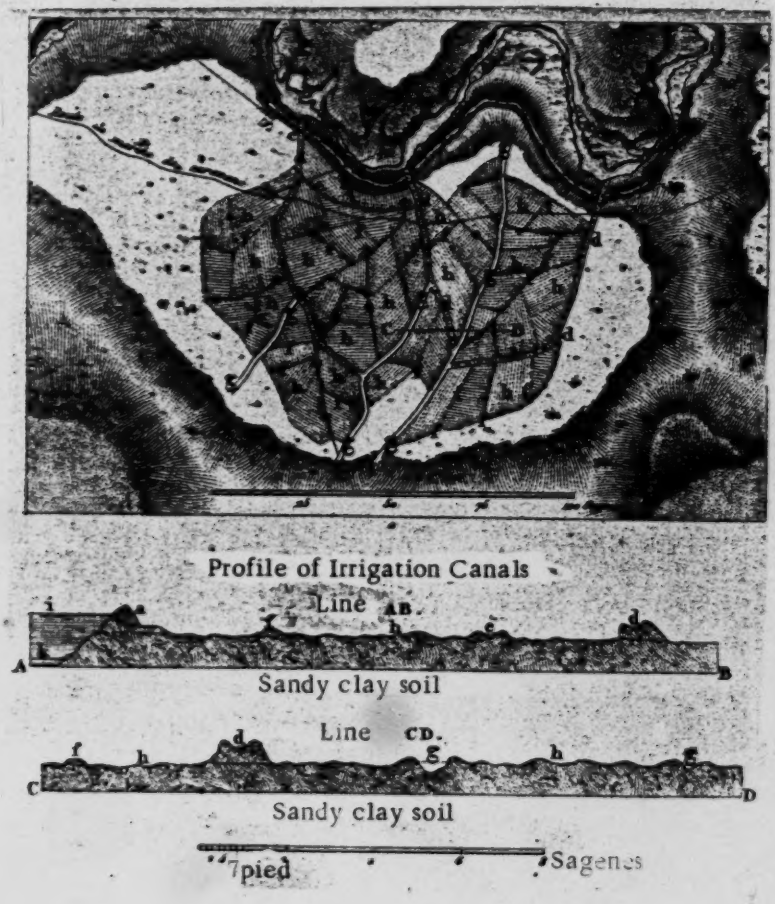

RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Historical Turkestan RL2

H.T 167 175 648 241 427 K 427 648 175 /156 cont./ In the course of time and with the increase in population, misunderstandings arose between the Kirghiz /Kazak/ landlords and the immigrant renters (who sometimes went too far in exploiting their ignorant landlords), and this ended with the interference of the administration. When this happened the peasants usually petitioned for the formation of a Russian settlement on the land occupied by them. There were 317 of these families in the oblast when the first official decision was made (in 1879) for the organization of the Russian population in the region.

The first colonization of other localities on the Kirghiz Steppe -- in the Turgai oblast and the Pavlodar uyezd of the Semipalatinsk oblast -- also was possible and later took place on the basis of rental agreements. The natural and necessary transition from the rental use of the Kirghiz sectors to the use of their own landed property, however, always took place with difficulty, providing the Russian settlers of the steppe with every possible kind of trial and privation (in the Pavlodar uyezd it has not yet ceased).

H.T. 175 167 648 241 K 175 648 179 [241] The condition of the Russian colonization of the Kirghiz krai in the 1870's was described thus in the most devoted report for 1875 by General Kaznakov, one of the most outstanding Governor Generals of Western Siberia.

"The situation in the steppe oblasts," we read in this report, "demands special attention. Since the time the Kirghiz /Kazak/ accepted Russian sovereignty, their progress in becoming civilized has been nil. The attempts to change to agriculture have been virtually only those introduced by the Chinese government. Meanwhile, as long as the Kirghiz /Kazak/ follow the huge orbits of their nomadic rounds alone in the desert expanses of the steppes far from the Russian population, they will remain loyal subjects only in name and will count themselves as Russians only in the census. The Kazak /Cossacks/ who are adjacent to them along the line do not help the situation, being few in number, and they have even, one by one, learned the Kirghiz /Kazak/ dialect and adopted some of the customs, harmless ones, by the way, of the nomadic people."

H.T. 175 648 179

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262
272
[275]
[435]
/212 cont./ "kumiss pubs" /kumysnye kabachki/). In Akmolinsk, Uralsk, and other steppe towns populated in part by Kirghiz /Kazak/, there are several such kumiss vending places, where it is possible to obtain a large cup (3-4 times the size of a teacup) of good kumiss for 2-3 kopeks.

[958] The nourishing and stimulating qualities of kumiss are well-known /213/ also to the local Russian population, not to speak of the patients visiting the healing places (Borovoye, Shchuch'e, Bayan-Aul, Ul'binskoye, and others) and summer houses, who drink kumiss on the advice of their doctors. The Russian popu-
[439] lation of the surrounding towns drink a great quantity of it in
[435] summer, for example, in Omsk, where in this season incoming Kirghiz /Kazak/ open a trade in kumiss (30-50 kopeks per
[273] chetvert). The Kirghiz /Kazak/ make an intoxicating beverage called "araka" from kumiss (by distillation), but it does not yet
272 have a wide distribution. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ also like to
[273] drink tea with sugar, especially brick tea. They do not drink vodka and wine. Russian baked bread is customary among the
262 Kirghiz /Kazak/ near towns.
439

It was said above that the main occupation of the Kirghiz
231 /Kazak/, being a nomadic people, is livestock raising, but in
241 recent times agriculture has also begun to spread. Here we shall only discuss the domestic occupations of the Kirghiz /Kazak/.

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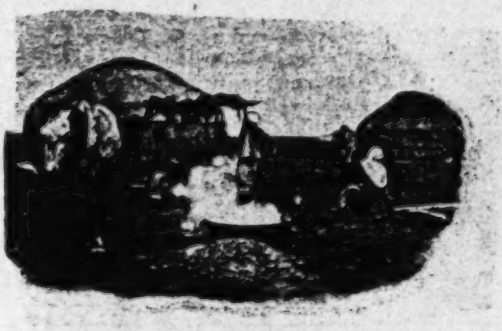

A Kirghiz /Kazak/ nomad village near Omsk. (From a photograph by Bebenin.)

This distinction made between Batyr Srym and Kenesary by Soviet historians reflects the current Soviet attitude toward past leaders. These early khans who are now denounced are the national and cultural heroes of the Kazakhs. They are celebrated in the folk literature, the poetry, and the tales which parents tell their children; they are the basis of common comparisons ("as brave as . . ., as clever as . . ."). For the Kazakhs these figures are symbols of their unity as a people. Moreover, they are the ancestors of those living today, according to the traditional Kazakh ties of descent and blood. In denouncing them, the Soviets are denouncing and insulting the very people most venerated by the Kazakhs, aristocrats and commoners alike.

The hold of the olden khans still continues after more than 30 years of Soviet rule. The Kazakh native writers demonstrate a profound desire to seize upon these old figures for literary and historical themes. They stubbornly resist relinquishment of these themes when the official line changes anew. Despite three years of the sharpest attacks and polemics, adulation of the ancient heroes continues in the literature, in films, in classroom textbooks, in official histories; its eradication is a concern of the Soviet regime today.[1]

KAZAKH LIFE IN 1950

The preceding description of the traditional Kazakh society and culture was included not only as background to the present, but primarily because whole sectors of Kazakhs continue more or less unchanged in that way of life, even though they are now members of a collective farm. Traditional Kazakh culture includes forces which have blocked accommodation to the Soviet pattern and forces which have permitted Sovietization. These forces will be taken up in turn.

In rural Kazakhstan, Kazakhs live in collective farms either as herders or as combined herders and farmers. They form the greater proportion of the population in the regions which are primarily devoted to herding, western and west-central Kazakhstan. Here they continue the old nomad life, pasturing their herds of sheep, goats, horses, cattle, and camels from winter camp to summer, reversing their path and completing the cycle in the fall. The winter camps are the focal points of community life, the stable centers of the annual round. Here after the summer dispersal the Kazakhs return to large adobe houses, structures which contain not only quarters for the extended family, but also stables, connecting corridors, and rooms for the storage of hay. Some of these house-stable-barn structures are a century old; it was about one hundred years ago that domiciles of this type were introduced into the area.[2]

The extended families and villages have been the basis of Kazakh adaptation to Sovietization. Kazakh herders continue to live in kin units, with the old aul or nomadic village as the core of the herding

[1] Pravda, 26 Dec 50, 19 Apr 51, and 23 Oct 52; *Voprosy Istorii*, 1951, No. 4, pp. 3-15.
[2] Kurbe and Mukhova, 1952, pp. 43-45.

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Chapter 5

ECONOMY

TRADITIONAL PATTERN OF KAZAKH ECONOMY

233 The traditional economy of the Kazakhs is herding, the raising of cattle, horses, camels, and, numerically the most important, sheep and goats. Settled life is despised, farming is despised. Herding is a nomadic way of life, but this does not mean indiscriminate wandering over the face of the earth. In the past, when all Kazakhs were nomads, [221] each herding community had its fixed pattern of grazing, starting in the spring from the winter quarters, traveling to pastures where they spent the summer, then returning over the same path to the winter [621] quarters again. Each community had its own territory for grazing and camping, and would fight off any intruder. Communities camped in closer proximity to each other—making for greater density of population—where there was more water and grass for the herds.[1]

233 The most favorable area for herding, with regard to the availability 199 of plant cover and water, is in the northern part of the Kazakh steppe. Unfortunately, this part of the steppe is precisely the zone which is able to support a small amount of agriculture, and it was here that the Russians and Ukrainians settled in the 19th century. As a result the Kazakhs, in a period when their population was increasing, were thrust back on a more limited territory, away from the grassy steppe, away from the river and lake shores favored by the Slavs for agriculture, away from the water courses in northeastern Kazakhstan where mining, as well as agriculture, had been instituted. The steppe which remained to them was of poorer quality, for herding or for any other subsistence economy.

178 Faced with the problem of sustaining a herding economy with more 241 of their number on less and poorer land, the Kazakhs began to take up 565 agriculture. The first to go over to the new way were the poor, the marginal herders. The rich, of course, continued their pastoralism, hiring the poor to work for them. Out of this emerged a new pattern of mixed herding and farming. During the latter part of the 19th century, crops were planted at the winter quarters, and tended by the poor Kazakhs and by women, while the wealthier able-bodied men went off with the herds in the more honored occupation.

[1] For a detailed description of the Kazakh nomadic pattern, see Radenko in Baranov, 1927.

The farming which the Kazakhs now employ was not the typical Central Asiatic Turkic farming, with intensive soil exploitation by artificial irrigation; it was the farming brought to them from Eastern Europe by the Russians and the Tatars (Turks of European Russia). The crops, chiefly grains, and the implements were European.[1]

The Soviets have sought to settle the native populations, and have devised grandiose schemes to transform the steppe desert, such as the Bet-Pak-Dala, into fertile paradises. They have failed to settle the Kazakhs and Kirgiz, and to increase the area under cultivation, despite the perspectives originally held out in the 1930's.[2] They have failed to turn the deserts into ploughlands, despite their plans. The plan to transform the Bet-Pak-Dala has been abandoned, at least temporarily, and the region has been permitted to return to the herding economy.[3] One factor in these reversals is the economic orientation of the Kazakhs, to whom agriculture is a lowly pursuit.

Such then is the subsistence pattern which the Kazakhs brought with them into the Soviet period. This period begins not with the year 1917 but more accurately in 1928; the intervening decade was an era of transition, to some extent of laissez faire, in which the Kazakhs were left to their own devices. The transitional period came to an abrupt end with the beginning of forced collectivization.

ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION IN THE SOVIET PERIOD

The labor force of Kazakhstan is divided into three broad categories, agriculture, herding, and industry.

In agriculture, the grain crops are raised by all nationalities of the republic. Russians and Ukrainians in the north and northeast grow cereals along rivers and lakes within the black-earth area of agriculture; rice is grown by Uzbeks in the south, and by Uigurs and Dungans close to the Chinese border in the east. Kazakhs raise grains for human consumption as well as for livestock feed in the central areas, sandwiched in between the Slavs to the north and the Uzbeks to the south. The Russians and Ukrainians raise a certain amount of livestock feed for their draft horses and milk cows. The potato and vegetable farming is done largely by Slavs in the vicinities of the larger cities, such as Karaganda, Alma-Ata, and Balkhash-Kounradskiy. Cotton and other nonsubsistence crops are raised largely by Uzbeks who live in the southern districts, and by Uigurs in the Ili River valley.

Pastoralism is the virtual monopoly of Kazakhs. That they were herders in the past has already been established; more significant for the present is the fact that the areas of highest pastoral productivity in Kazakhstan are also the areas in which the Kazakhs represent the highest proportion of the population. The region of Guryev, for example, is one of the three leading pastoral regions of the republic: its population

[1] Kaufman, 1908, passim.
[2] Sakharov, 1934.
[3] Baradin, 1946.

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kazakhstan RQ1

KN 414 stations (MTS) were listed in 1930; this number had grown to approximately 300 in 1939, and to 376 in 1952.[1]

KN [162] In 1939, when the total population of Kazakhstan was given by the census as 6,146,000 persons, 72.3 per cent (4,440,000) lived in rural areas and 27.7 per cent in urban areas. In the following year, it was reported that 97.5 per cent of the farm population was enrolled in collective farms, and 2.5 per cent in other units.[2] The ratio has since changed, for there has been an increase in the number of state farms, Machine Tractor stations, and Machine Livestock stations. No numerical breakdown of the enrollments in the various agricultural units since 1940 is available.

K KN 231 LIVESTOCK

There have been extreme fluctuations in the total number of livestock in Kazakhstan during the Soviet period (see Tables 4 and 5). The 36,000,000 head of stock reported for 1917 indicates that this was a fairly good year for the Kazakh herders, despite the Kazakh revolution of the preceding year. But by 1924 the total number of stock had dropped by 46 per cent—a loss attributable to the conditions attending the Russian Revolution and civil war. During the next five years the herds gradually recovered until in 1927 and 1929 they exceeded their 1917 strength. This was the period of the New Economic Policy (NEP) in the Soviet Union, which permitted a moderate amount of private economic interest.

With the onset of forced collectivization in 1930, the number of livestock began to drop rapidly; by 1933, it had fallen to approximately 12 per cent of the 1929 high. Throughout the rest of the 1930's the number of livestock slowly rose, but it was still far below the figures for the late twenties. The number of livestock in Kazakhstan today is difficult to assess, since only scattered data are available on developments during and since World War II.

During the Soviet period the number of cattle has increased relative to the over-all stock total. Since the beginning of the herd recovery in 1924, cattle have constituted more than 20 per cent of the total number of livestock; in 1938, the last year for which such figures are available, they formed 33 per cent of the total. Cattle generally form only 10 to 15 per cent of the total herd strength of a purely nomadic economy; sheep are the most important animal to the nomad (Table 6 gives the internal proportions of the herds of three different Kazakh groups in the 19th century).

K [24] This increase in the proportion of cattle among Kazakh livestock reflects an increase in agriculture. By 1938, cattle had recovered to approximately 40 per cent of their 1927 high, a rate of recovery double that shown by horses, sheep, and goats. A second effect of the growth of agriculture and the cities was that the number of camels and steppe horses decreased in proportion to the number of draft horses.

[1] *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda.*
[2] *Kazakhskaia SSR*, p. 18.

S
563 /The New Uighurs/
517 rites. Even the poor give Tomashan, evening parties, to enjoy themselves.

S
563 7. Guardians of national customs
624 In Sinkiang, as in most Moslem communities, there are
554 Sheikh-I-Islam, or guardians of public customs and morals. The
577 people elect them, and their title is sanctioned by the district Khukum-Kazay. They receive no pay, but they are accorded honor and respect. Their duties are to guard over the morals and customs of the people, and to inspect the quality of goods sold in the bazaars and protect the consumers' interests. In the old days, the Sheikh-I-Islam were also to see that the women veiled their faces and that the men attended the mosques.

E. The Kazakhs

S
563 1. The people
K
173 The Kazakhs are one of the important peoples in Sinkiang Province. They and the New Uighurs are often referred to as people of one origin. According to legend, the early ancestor of mankind had two sons. One was timid and mild, the other tough and quick-tempered. The timid son was diligent in farming, but the other had no interest in cultivating the land, so he was driven away from home. The son who stayed on the farm became the ancestor of the New Uighurs; the other, of the Kazakhs. Another legend has it that the Kazakhs of Sinkiang are descendants of the younger brother of Chingis Khan.

S
563 The Kazakhs are nomads who have settled in the northern
K
526 part of this region, northwest of Ili. Few of them farm. They
(131) are noted for their horsemanship. Children begin riding when
(241) they are very young, and little boys and girls are fastened to their parents' horses so they will become accustomed to all kinds of techniques, tricks and fast riding.

S
563 The people belong to the Islam faith. Because of their nomad-
K
771 ic way of life they have few mosques. They pray at definite
782 times, wherever it is convenient, always standing to face Mecca.

2. Patterns of living

a. Dwelling

S
563 As the people lead a nomadic life, they have definite periods
K
221 in the yearly cycle for moving their tents. During the summer they journey from one pasture to another; in autumn they are busy shearing the sheep, stringing the hay, harvesting crops and preparing their winter quarters; the winter is the time for rest and relaxation.

S
563 During the summer they need light-weight tents. The shape
K
342 of the Kazakh summer tent is similar to that of the Mongols, except that the Mongolian yurt has a round top and the Kazakh tent has a curved tip. This difference can be noted from afar.

The winter dwellings of the Kazakhs are permanent buildings

In the inter-
619 vening decades,[1] the Russians had set up a system of ad-
178 ministrative divisions which reorganized to some extent
241 the pattern of life of the Kazakhs. Moreover, at this
time there was some increase in agriculture among them.
As of the turn of the century there was an acceleration
in the development of farming among them, and a tendency
to turn from a nomadic to a settled life.[62]

Clan and Lineage of the Great Horde in the 19th Century

101 The Great Horde was situated farthest from European
619 Russia, occupying the steppe between the Ala-Tau Moun-
tains and the Syr-Darya River, to the south of Lake
Balkash, and extending into Chinese Turkestan
as well.

[62] Semenov-Tian-Shanskii, 376. "Some of the Kirgis
178 have taken up agriculture, raising grain in their win-
241 ter quarters on artificially irrigated land. This ten-
dency has undergone in recent times a greater and greater
development, effecting the transformation of the Kazakhs
into a settled life, turning them from nomadic pastoral-
ists into settled farmers." This was written in 1915,
and relates to the preceding decades. In the 1920's the
Kazakhs still retained considerable pastoralism, but had
transferred to a major extent to a mixed pastoral-
agricultural economy or had gone over entirely to agri-
culture. Cf. Sakharov; Kharuzin, Bukeev Orda, Column 47.
The process of transformation as indicated by the above
sources is only an incomplete one. Kazakhs for centuries
had been making a transition from pastoralism to agri-
culture, but in doing so had ceased to be Kazakhs. They
joined instead agricultural Turkic communities, such as
the Uzbek. The very process of change from herding to
farming at the end of the 19th century had itself changed
through the rise of indigenous agriculture undertaken by
the Kazakhs without their giving up their identity as
such in making the transition. Cf. Radloff, Aus Sibirien,
I, 222-230.

[1] [i.e. after the Russian conquest -- Analyst]